is these dwarf regions. Warning long before an entrance takes the place of a door.

Figs. 11 and 12.—Huts commonly occupied by Aymara herdsmen in the region of the Desaguadero (left bank). The roof is cupola shaped. These dwellings are made of clods of earth (above from a photograph).

An inventory of the furnishings and objects found in these huts can be quickly made. I took note of three mats for sleeping, a clay cook stove, a set of small receivers containing horrible materials, pottery of different shapes and sizes, a mortar, some spindles, balls of wool, woolen fabric which was generally coarsely woven, sometimes fine, fishing equipment, and finally a broom. Passing into the courtyard one generally notices sling, weir, sword, a hoe, and farming implements of European origin.

The vessels are not usually produced. They are imported and Fig. 13 appears here/ came from other indigenous industry of the neighbors. The pots were shaped on a wheel and beat a

323 (78 cont.)
000 potter's mark on the bottom (1). The mortars, or more exactly

323 114 1. My observations in this respect contradict those of one of the authors cited in

342

Fig. III

323 114 [120] note 1, p. 3. As I was trying to make as complete a collection as possible at Annaqui, I gave special attention to all the objects which met my eyes, and the pottery did not seem to me to be of local fabrication. I also did not see any women working at making it, nor did I notice any of the signs which indicate the existence of a ceramic industry in the entire Indian village.

5/12 The mortars, or more exactly the grindstones, are made of a flat or slightly concave stone, against which another, oval in form and polished by use, is rubbed. These mullers are sometimes semicircular; the pressure which the

Smithsonian--1885 E-5 (1880-1892) 1885, 1886 9'94 Uni 9'94

Plate captions on next page../

Smithsonian--BSIA B-0 (1950-1951) 1955, 1956 5754 Use 5754

Carnegie-
Cayapa
Ayampa 375

/171 comm./

Fig. 6.—Cayapa ceremonial culture. Ceramics

A: Small jug of Aymara origin used by the Cayapa.

B: Acyballoid jug (1/2) imported from Pariamarca (Carangas Province) (from a sketch).

C: Small pot (1/2) imported from Pariamarca.

D: Jar imported from Pariamarca (from a sketch made from life).

E: Large, slightly asymmetrical jar imported from Pariamarca;
e: detail of one of the ornaments on the neck.

F: Small jar made without a potter's wheel (Chipaya).

3:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
BF24 Uru BF24

edge of the gunwales. The whole makes a sea-sled type of hull, which will not easily overturn even in the fierce storms of Lake Titicaca.

The balsa is poled along with a stubby trident, the wood for which comes from the yungas east of the Cordillera Real. In the open lake, a trapezoidal reed sail is rigged on two poles stuck deeply into the gunwales and forming an inverted V. The balsa is unable to tack in the wind, however, for it lacks a centerboard. Balsas are dragged onto the land from time to time lest they become waterlogged and rot. Though they may be bought for 10 to 12 Bolivian dollars (bolivianos), they represent much labor.

SUBSISTENCE

The material culture is simple. Owing to the lack of trees, the giant totora reed (*Scirpus totora*) is of extraordinary importance, providing material for balsa-craft, reed mats (pl. 117, *top, left*), floor and sitting mats, rafters, doors, baskets, mats, and even food for animals and people. Metallurgy is unknown. Pottery making has been abandoned in recent times.

Basketry.—Crudely coiled baskets and twined tortora reed baskets are made.

Textiles.—The Uru make twine bird nets, mats of various types, sails, grass rope, and simple baskets (both coiled and twined). Women spin llama wool as incessantly as the men make grass rope, using a wooden spindle. They weave the yarn into cloth on a simple bar loom staked taut on the ground (pl. 116, *top*), rolling up the finished cloth on the cord bar. When the end of the warp is approached, they weave from the other end, and finally fill in the last intermediate strip with a needle. Knitting is not pre-Columbian here, but Uru women are very skilful in knitting *Aymara*-type caps (*gorros*), often with amazingly intricate animal figures and other designs. Men's slingshots are very beautifully braided of wool with variolated diamond designs like the markings on snakes. The Uru also make thongs of twisted rawhide still retaining the fur, and heavy braided woolen ropes for hobbling beasts or burden animals.

An extremely interesting textile, apparently unique to the region southeast of Lake Titicaca, is a kind of feather cloth described by David Forbes (1870). The down of lake birds was spun into thread, and then knit into caps and children's socks and gloves. Only a few specimens of these exist in museums.

Weapons.—To make bolas, the Uru buy cotton thread from traders and wind this tightly around a cord Y to make a durable bird-hunting weapon. A sling-cord bola particle, similar to that of Patagonia, is also used.

Metals.—The Uru know no metallurgy, although the *Aymara* of Jesús de Machaca, scarcely a day's journey away, are famous for their

3:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

metal casting. Some of the pins (tupus) which women use to fasten their clothing at the shoulder, are probably generations old, perhaps having been taken from chullpa graves. All other metal objects are obtained by trade. 325 [939]

Pottery.—Although not now made at Anroaqui, pottery was formerly produced in simple styles: a plain reddish, round-bodied olla with a narrow neck and handle, and a large, crude hemispherical bowl with a bent-out lip and two loop handles. 323

Stonework.—Metates, mullers, and hammers made of a round stone lashed with rawhide to a stick, the small hand stones of bolas, and fish-net sinkers are the only objects made of stone. 324

Woodworking.—Weaving frames, distaffs and spindles, balsa poles, spear handles, hooks for tightening balsa lashings, and a few other articles compose the list of wooden objects. Wood is a valuable substance in this treeless region, procurable only by trade or travel to the yungas. 322 [939]

Musical instruments.—All Uru musical instruments are duplicates of those of the *Aymara*: the open-ended flutes (palawatu, kena, pusipis, and kenakena), flageolets (kena mari-macho, koiko, pinkillo, and tarka), double panpipes, i.e., in two graduated rows (siku, siku-chukiki), and the drum. No stringed instruments are present except the armadillo-carapace ukelele or charanga. 534 [777] [937]

ECONOMICS

The only Uru articles of commerce are dried and salted fish, balsas, and the large totora reed mats which they make for Bolivian cholo huts. They exchange these for frozen and dried potatoes (chuñu), corn, thread to make nets, quinoa, wooden poles, metal objects, and other indispensable goods like medicines and dyes. 439

The sexual division of labor is simple: men fish, hunt, make and repair nets, and manufacture balsas, mats, musical instruments, and their own tools; women spin and weave llama wool, cook, and make baskets and, formerly, pottery. Women trade all goods except balsas. 462

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Not much remains of pre-Columbian Uru social structure, for a scattered and diminishing population has not been able to preserve its functioning. The Uru are grouped into aylus, named Titicana, Kotsko, Kana, and Kulpa, and their territory is physically divided into nonexogamous moieties: ti achai (corresponding to *Jaan anan-saya*), and anacha (*Jaan mara-saya*). The kinship system is fragmentary, and highly descriptive in its present, perhaps, degenerate form. It is apparently a bilateral system which does not distinguish between paternal and maternal uncle, or aunt, or grandparent. Like 198 421 416 401

?:Blas Cumacho J.-S (no date) 1960 S724 Uru S724
Chipaya

They are often reinforced with rawhide bindings, and are handled with great care. The *flauta de pico* is blown through a mouthpiece at the end. To make this kind of flute the Chipayas use the curved branches of the *tola* shrub, which gives these instruments their distinctive shape.

They also use the *oyo*, a round stone that gives out strange sounds through a hole in its center. Played with the other instruments, it produces a heavy music, slow and melancholy. The sound emitted depends on the size of the stone and the way it is struck.

Pottery making is unknown today among the Chipayas, and probably has been for many generations, since all their words for pottery are Aymara. The Chipaya women bring water from the Lauca River in very large jars, carrying them on their shoulders with the help of an ingeniously knotted cord of llama wool, exactly in the manner shown on ancient Chimu vases. From time immemorial the Chipayas have made beautiful coiled baskets of straw.

Chipaya religion, a blend of pagan and Catholic features, is basically the same as that of the Aymaras, although it probably preserves the pagan aspects in purer form. Pachamama, the Earth Mother, is the favorite goddess, and is often confused with the Virgin Mary. They also worship St. Philip, St. Jerome, and St. Ann; a host of spirits called *mallcus;* the Lauca River; the nearby moun-

[P. 22-B]

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

whereas the *bolas* have tightly wound cotton thread (bought from Aymára traders) around the cords (see Posnansky, Fig. 90). As has been pointed out, the word for "clothes" in general is very much like the word for "skin," suggesting a pretextile substance for this purpose in earlier times. No information was obtained on any tanning process, however. Leather sandals, *čala* (an Aymará word), are not universally used.

An extremely interesting textile, apparently unique to the region southeast of Lake Titicaca, is a kind of feather-cloth. David Forbes described this in 1870 for the Aymára, but my repeated inability to check it for this group leads me to believe that the art was really Uru. This art was the spinning of the down of lake birds into a thread, which was then knit into *gorros*. The Berlin Museum has a specimen of these. Dr Krickeberg, who studied it, believed the idea of making thread from bird-down is ancient but that the knitting is European in origin.[58]

The Uru know no metallurgy of any kind, though the Aymára of Jesus de Machaca, a day's journey overland to the east are famous for their metal casting. Some of the "topos" (Uru *toskola* [cf. the term for penis, *siai-* ("eggs") *skolo*]) used by the women to pin their clothing at the shoulder are probably generations old, and some may have been recovered from the ancient *čulpa* graves.

Pottery is no longer made at Ancoaqui, though there is plenty of evidence, archaeological and otherwise, that this was not always the case. Ogilvie, in point of fact, noted a water jar "made of clay dug from a bank near by," so that the non-practice of pottery-making is possibly a recent thing—evidence, like the decline of weaving and basket-making, of the final decadence of Uru culture. Plain reddish round-bodied *ollas* with a narrow neck and a small handle at the top, and crudely made but large hemispherical bowls (up to 18" across the top) with a bent-out lip and two small loops as handles were, however, noted; these may have been made at Ancoaqui, as they are much cruder even than modern Aymára ceramics of the region.

Flat grinding-stones with long mullers, together with hammers (*ƛupaƛa*) for all purposes (a roundish stone lashed with rawhide to a stick, illustrated in Posnansky's Figure 81) are the only objects made of stone, except the handle end of the *bola*, and the sinkers for fish-nets.

Weaving frames, distaffs and spindles, *balsa*-poles, spear-handles, the wooden *balsa*-making hook (*kaxlu* or *'kaxi*), and a few other small articles are the only objects made of wood, which is very valuable and extremely

[58] Forbes, *op. cit.*, p. 262, says this down yarn was knit into children's socks and gloves. Cf. Métraux (JSAP 27, pp. 86-87; 28, pp. 196) and Posnansky, *op. cit.*, p. 72.